3: Schröder--252 M-6 (1946-1949)1952-1953 A-9 Mongol AE9

[841 cont.]

778
825

[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

[554]
[492]

[435]

The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

[178]

A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

[688]

[782]

[846 cont.]

If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the demon will punish him.

Word List

Demon escort: rëdzõ̃wa (Tib.?) gargani = one takes away that which is to be taken away.

The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].

Saddlebag: dadzë (Chin. loanword).

Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

. . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.

On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

[1] [i.e. - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST]

old Li would not budge. The whole community was humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably. 792 691 628

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands $800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast—for $150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its inmates. 688 792

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu, 691 578

[p.41(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*) [1] by the Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha "acquainted" with her.

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the Ta-t'ung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendencies had preferred to wreck the

[1] "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity of the family.

SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the families is very peculiar. Once a family starts worshipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop.

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two ar three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there.

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

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the spirits for so long a time, urged her husband to take with him the fateful picture. The villagers of Li chia t'ai, however, did not allow him to introduce the ill-boding spirits into their village. At night the son-in-law buried the picture in a deserted, ruined house in P'irke. After one or two years the fact became known. The wrath of the P'irke villagers was great enough to bring suit against Li ssu, but the court of Li T'u-ssu ordered the defendant to defray the expenses of inviting twelve shamans (for they honor the twelve spirits) in order to conciliate the spirits, to repair the outrage, and to offer a sheep, incense, and oil. After the preparations were performed, the shamans took with them the picture,[2] and firecrackers were set off. This fact illustrates the peculiar attitude of the Monguors concerning the duty of continuing the cult of the deities honored by the ancestors.

MOST SPIRITS ARE TAOIST

Since nearly every family has an uncle or a son who is a lama, it would seem obvious that most of the deities honored in the families should belong to Lamaism—all the more so because in nearly every valley there is a big or a small wealthy lamasery, and Lamaism reached the highest peak of glory with its celebrated Hutukhtus two centuries ago. However, it seems not to be so. The number of families honoring a Lamaist guardian deity is far smaller than of those honoring Taoist deities, and even the twelve spirits with their black tiger rider of the shamans. This astonishing fact requires an explanation.

The Monguors are a practical people. At the feast of spring, when the shamans invite spirits to come to the temple along the rope, no Lamaist deities are invited, and none arrive. The shamans honor their Tengris and the Taoist spirits, and combat the hail scourge by help from all of them. Honoring at home the same spirits which are honored in the temple of the village will provide more security for their worshippers against the dreaded hail, so most of the Monguors prefer at home the cult of these deities honored by the shamans, who are considered to be more powerful and more expert in this field than the lamas.

The reasons for the Monguor preference for non-Lamaist protector deities, explain why they adopt Taoist or shamanist spirits. It was always said that "Heaven" is never honored as a family spirit. However, in the families, there are encountered the cults of the spirits of the mountain, the earth, the five roads, the dragon king, the mother gooddess, the horse king, and the cow king. The temples of the villages are dedicated to the same spirits. Some families honor the Twelve Tengris of the shamans with the tiger rider. However, most of the Monguors, at the time of the division of the extended family, when they have to choose a new family

[2] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 603. Among the Alar-Buryats, images of family deities must be removed by the shaman who honors the deity.